NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBURE, SATURDAY, APRIL C, 1801

## THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION. FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

A DELUDED CORRESPONDENT.

From Our Own Correspondent. CHARLESTON, April 2, 1861. The readers of THE TRIBUNE will doubtless have been surprised at the accounts of the fortifications in Charleston harbor which recently appeared in The N. Y. Herald, From time to time I have given correct descriptions of the batteries which have been erected on the islands, and at this late day The Herald has sent down a correspondent to report the extent and strength of these treasonable and offensive operations. The result of the observations of The Herald's representatative are so entirely at variance not only with fact but with probability, that I feel compelled to give them a contradiction, and to state plainly the circumstances under which he obtained his information. The gentleman has very correctly stated that he obtained an order to visit the islands from Governor Pickens, but he omitted to state that immediately before he received it he had solicited from Gen. Beauregard the same favor, and had met with a point blank refusal; the wily General was, however, not to be outwitted, and though highly indignant at hearing that Governor Pickens had granted the permission, contented himself with taking quiet but secure means to circumvent the inquisitiveness of the correspondent. He immediately dispatched his confidential aid to the commander at Morris Island, and the results of Gen. Beauregard's in-t s were manifested as soon as The Et ... deputy appeared. The man to whom he was first introduced insisted that he should take a drink; the gentleman from The Herald is just one of those "good fellows" who cannot say no-and I am quite within the mark in stating that in four hours from the time he landed, he was so exhuberant, so thoroughly good-natured, that any description volunteered by the attentive and hospitable Carclinans was duly recorded and has already made ite appearance in the columns of the paper named. I need scarcely add, that my friend from the North was not allowed to get sober, until he reterned to the Mills House in Charleston; this will account for the fact-which is much chuckled over in every bar-room in the city-that howitzers in almost every instance have been transmogrified into Columbiads, and the defenses of the rebels made to appear five times as strong as they are in reality; this also will explain how it was that The Herald's representative, even with the aid of his spectacular assistant, distinguished the roughest looking set of b'hoys that were ever forced into livery, by attributing to them a martial and soldierly appearance; one of the companies, reviewed by my friend, and so vividly and enthusiastically described, would certainly remind any man with an ordinary imagination more of Falstaff's recruits, than of disciplined American soldiers. Upon the correspondent of The Y. N. Times, who went to the island in safe custody, the game of stuffing was successfully practiced without the aid of whisky, as will appear from his records. The Mercury, whose information could of course contradict these manifest errors. indorses them all this morning, but at the same time protests against their having been allowed to set their foot upon Palmetto soil. This " respectable" journal has been getting positively funny of late. The editor has produced two la bored arguments for the purpose of proving that no "Free States" should be allowed to enter the Bouthern Confederation. The idea of the possibility of such an application from a Free State, is so preposterous, that the only excuse I can

to hares in the month of March. A telegraph message was received here yesterday to the effect that THE TRIBUNE, in its should be reënforced; it has put the whole of the officials on the qui vive, and the pleasant certainty which on Sunday pervaded all classes of society, that the garrison would be withdrawn, has given way to a general expectancy that the United States Government is alive to Ita duties and responsibilities, and that treason and rebellion, are not to be allowed to ride rampant over the liberties and property of the American people.

make for my chivalric neighbor, "the Colonel,"

is that he is effected with the malady attributed

I have been much amused, during my residence here, in witnessing the avidity with which they attempt to twist every item of European news into a favorable recognition of the Southern Confederation; there are hundreds here who believe that the fleet which it is reported England and France are fitting out, is intended for the defense of "Southern rights." The simplicity of the people in this respect is marvelous. I can tell them, If it will gratify them, how they may get a British squadron into Southern waters-and it is the only way at present open to them-let them repeat the treatment used toward a British Captain in the nort of Savannah, a few weeks ago. The Consul at that port has been kind enough, upon receiving the apologies of the Government, and the assurances that the miscreants should be punished, to be quiet about the matter; but they must not try that again, and I have grave doubts whether the British Government will, in this instance, allow the outrage to pass unavenged. Let the slave-code Rebels understand at once, for they will soon know it, that they can expect neither assistance, cooperation, or recognition, from any civilized power.

I could scarcely forbear giving vent to my risible faculties last evening, when a friend of considerable notoriety here was endeavoring to prove to me the similarity of the revolution in Italy to the rebellion now in progress in the Southern States. I restrained my mirth, and managed to agree with him, except in one point, at which I suggested to him that while the struggle in Italy was for Constitutional Liberty, the riots of the South were for the purpose of extending Chattel Slavery.

HOW MANY MEN ARE THERE IN FORT SUMTER ?

CAN MAJOR ANDERSON SHELL CHARLESTON?

From Our Special Correspondent. CHARLESTON, S. C., April 3, 1861.

How many men are there in Fort Sumter? Ale there more than the original seventy? Has the carrison been reenforced within the last month? These are questions which the Rebels, with an air of mystery, put to each other when congregated in secret. Strange or not, there are those who believe that Major Anderson's garrison is now not much less than 200 men, if not a good many more, and that the increase has been made by introductions at night by means of

small boats. There are several circumstances to transhipment at New-Orleans, or even to the delay that favor this idea. In the first place, such a and expense that would be involved in being overthing in expert hands has been practicable; then there have been rumors of small boats having been seen and heard on several occasions; a large number of men are believed to have been seen on the walls of Fort Sumter at various times of late; and last, though not least, a great deal more work has been done in the fort than it has seemed possible for seventy men to accomplish. The Rebels have just found out that Major Anderson has succeeded in elevating two of his terrible ten-inch columbiads so as to bear square on the Cumming's Point battery. In this important work he has been materially assisted by the timber which luckily floated in a raft down the bay, and came near enough to the It fort to enable the men to secure it. was just what, of all things, next to fresh meat, was most wanted. There is another question which the Rebels occasionally put to each other, in tone and manner indicating grave doubts. It is: Can Maj. Anderson reach Charleston City with shot or shell, or both, should be feel so disposed? On this point there is a difference of opinion. The Rebels themselves confess that his 10-inch columbiads have a range of upward of 5,600 yards, a little less than the distance of Charleston from the fort. The difference is not enough to afford the ground of hardly any confidence, especially since it is known that at least some of the most experienced offcers in Fort Sumter have said that Charleston can be shelled, and that it would be just the thing to do, in case the fort was attacked. I will take this occasion to say that an officer of Maj. Anderson's garrison assured me that the guns in Fort Sumter could play with disastrous effect on the city, and he only hoped that, should worst come to worst, he might prove the correctness of his opinion. If it were understood

against Sumter? Nothing would so effectually give these fellows pause as something like this. It is said that Jeff. Davis has authorized the cutting off of Major Anderson's supplies, and that the design will be carried into effect to-morrow. I confidently look next for a hostile demonstration on the Fort itself. It cannot be postponed much longer, especially should the Administration do anything looking like turning the cold shoulder on the newborn Confederacy. The Floating Battery will be attempted to be brought into use, though it is pretty certain that Major Anderson would fire on it should an attempt be made to place it under the walls of Sumter. I have great confidence that the thing would not stand long before the 120-pound shots that would greet its advent in the waters anywhere within a mile

down of tone and style on the part of the Rebels.

Why cannot the Major manage to get a "chance

shot " into Charleston, as Gen. Beauregard did

Amid the excitements that prevails on all sides, The Mercury continues to discuss at length the Jeff. Davis Constitution, and parade its sore head before the public almost daily. The possibility of the Free States, at some future day, joining the Confederacy, is the very nightmare of the fireeating organ. It relieves itself after the following fashion:

fashion:

"We have briefly indicated a few of the weighty reasons for the Confederate States rejecting all profiers of association with the Anti-Slavery States of the North, whether Eastern or Western. But many readers may suppose our apprehensions groundless, and our responings uncalled for and premuture. To such we would respectfully dissent. To us the future, in this respect, judged by the signs of the times is omlinens. Reconstruction, on the basis of the old Constitution, is, we judge, the pelicy of the Seward wing of the Black Republican party, and every day will strengthen that element. 'Reorganization' under the new Constitution is evidently the programme chalked out some months since by Washington leaders of the South. And to this end the policy so far pursued unquestionably lends. Under the promulgation that war, pestilence and famine impended, in case any other course was adopted, inactivity has reigned, and every cause for allenation has been studiously avoided. Delay is still going on. A Constitution, too, has been carefully made, at Montgomery, which, with a little repression of the fauntinism on the Slavery question, will be sufficiently acceptable to the Northwest to constitute no permanent difficulty in the way of their consenting to adopt it. Two years' medication upon the pres and cone will suffice them. Friends of Mr. Douglas, including the near and dear George N. Sanders, are already declaring that the Northwestern States should apply for admission late the Can-

The famous Senator Wigfall is among us, sharp set and sprung as usual. He is anxious to have the fighting commence, and talks about taking a hand.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. SHALL IT BE ACKNOWLEDGED !-WHAT SHALL BE THE BASIS IF PRIENDLY RELATIONS ARE

TO BE ESTABLISHED? To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: It cannot be disguised that an amicable arrangement with the Southern Confederacy is involved in many and sinuous difficulties. But they all tend to prove that if negotiation is our true policy it should be ntered upon at once.

The first and principal difficulty will in my opinion be what has been the very ground of disunion, viz:

the protection of Slavery at the South. It cannot be expected that this question which has been deemed of such importance at the South as to produce a dissolution of the Union will be overlooked in any arrangement which may be proposed between the divided sections. Were it not for this I should have little doubt that we would agree upon terms that would be for our mutual advantage. But on the other hand. keeping in mind the real issue of the separation, it cannot be overlooked that in any treaty which shall be made stringent provisions will by necessity be insisted upon by the Southern Confederacy, tending to the perpetuity of an institution which is avowed as the dis-

tinctive basis of the new Government. I am unable to resolve all the difficulties which will be involved in this preliminary claim. If that claim can in any way be satisfactorily adjusted, I do not hesitate to say that the adjustment of all other subjects of negotiation would be comparatively easy. Mutuality of inthe arena of national politics to the bosom of every terests would induce an agreement of reciprocity in ommercial intercourse. This would involve the fol-

lowing particulars: I. That no discrimination would be made against us in the tariff of the South. This is a more considerable item than may be generally supposed. In the present irritation of feeling and avowed hostility to the North, it may be expected that the legislation of the Southern Confederacy would be adverse not only to Northern manufactures, but to our shipping interest. Anattempt will doubtless be made to transfer to foreign ships the freight of cotton from and importation of mercha to the South. Such a result is to be avoided only by negotiation in which there is required more sagacity, far-eightedness and real statesmanship, than any other

nestion involved in our foreign relations. If the fundamental difficulty, viz: the hostile feeling between the two sections can be obviated-then all other questions will be resolved and terms of amity and eciprocal advantage can be agreed upon.

II. The free navigation of the Mississippi should be secured, or an arrangement made that shall be equivalent. Goods that are to be delivered on that river thin the Northern boundary ought not to be subject

hauled by officers at that port. It would, perhaps, be feasible to arrange that the goods shall go to their des tination subject to settlement of the duties payable at the first port of entry by the collector at the port of

III. As it is probable that we shall have a defensive alliance with Mexico, there should be a provision that the occupation of military positions on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande by our forces shall not be objected

to by the Southern States.

IV. Mutual accommodation in postal arrangements should be agreed upon. Perhaps the best basis would be to allow letters to pass under the original stamp from either section of the country through the other. at least, should have no objection to this. But as it may be objected at the South that this would be too favorable to us, let an arrangement of some kind be made for the settlement of Post-Office accounts between the respective departments of the two Governments.

I have, in making these suggestions, assumed what is after all but a hypothetical case, viz: that there must be a final severance of the two parts of the Union now arrayed against each other.

I propose, very briefly, to discuss the probability of such a result. The following propositions will, I think, be conceded by any one who is at all conversant with

Southern opinions and habits: I. A phase of character has become developed at the South, which derives its distinctive peculiarity from the existence of Slavery. Mechanical industry has become disreputable. All manual labor is deemed menial. The white population belonging to the better class have no employment whatever except professiona or political. Clergymen and physicians are of course very few. Lawyers are more numerous, as there is something cognate in their profession with political life. It is not extravagant to say that all who belong to famlies of any respectability are politicians. On the other hand, the inferior class of whites, while they are repelled by the same habit of thinking from all mechan ical employment, have no other resource for an honest livelihood. The result is that a large part of the com munity are living in a state of idleness, and, by conse mence, of vice.

It will readily be seen that a society thus constituted that, the moment an aggressive act was committed against the fort, Maj. Anderson would open on must be subject to sinister influences far beyond what can be realized by the industrious population of the the city, and that he had the means of making his shots tell, there would be a speedy letting

II. In proportion to the corruption of character by the debasing influence which I have referred to is the incapacity to throw off the thralldom that has been imposed upon the lower class.

If the Southern States should maintain a separate national existence, it needs no prophetic vision to forecast the ultimate result of the rash experiment. It is obvious to the most common observation that a free Government is wholly inconsistent with the social inequality now existing, and which, when all restraint shall be removed, will be rapidly carried out by a nat-

ural tendency to a still greater extreme.

III. It is quite possible, indeed it is probable, that in the first stage of Southern Nationality great induce-ments will be offered for the transfer of Northern enterprise into Southern territory. There would doubtless be great exultation if manufactures could be established there. But this I predict will be found impossible. The spirit of Southern society is wholly adverse to the concession of a proper reward to honest industry. It will soon be found by those who shall venture to risk advancement at the South by inventive genius, or persevering pursuit of any department of dustry, that they will be repelled from equality with the idle and depraved aristocracy, in political or social poemion.

IV. The great proportion of the free white popula tion thus left wholly unoccupied, while naturally and necessarily thereby involved in the vices incident to a slothful life, also furnish the material for a military

It would seem that almost the entire people of the South have become soldiers. I had the opportunity of seeing something of this a few months since, and can, therefore, confirm by my own observations what has been reported by others.

In almost every village, even in the Border States of the South, several military companies are organized, and go through a regular drill as if the country was already involved in war and exposed to hostile invasion. Still greater must be this penchant for military parade in the States which have seceded. It may be fairly presumed that nearly all the free whites of South Carolina have become soldiers, that is to say, are either in actual service, or could be readily called out.

V. It becomes apparent from this state of things, if I have correctly stated it, that there must be a mutual repulsion between the citizens of the two sections, and this must be aggravated by an attempt to hold together such uncongenial elements. Voluntary separation would, of course, allay in some degree the irritation now existing. The question will, however, still remain, whether amicable relations can be kept up after such separation.

VI. My conclusion is that the States which have already secoded will resist all attempts to recall them into the Union. Virginia and the other Border States will find that they have miscalculated in supposing that any terms of accommodation will suffice to produce the renunciation of the new Government of the South. What course these Border States will take when it shall become settled that the other seven which have seceded cannot be brought back, time alone can develop. It certainly will be a complicated and difficult question to be solved by them.

It will be well for those who assume that it will re solve all our difficulties if we simply allow the seceding States to take their own course, to consider the questions which I have suggested. If an unfriendly tate of feeling is still to remain ? will it not inevitably be developed sooner or later into an aggressive action and if hostility is to be the ultimate result, would i not be wiser and more prudent to use coercion unde the constitutional right which we now have than to be compelled hereafter to resort to force in self-defense against an independent Government?

On the other hand, if the danger from the proscriptive and intolerant character of the new Government shall be deemed less than the disastrous consequences which would ensue immediately from an attempt to subjugate the insurrectionary States, then it is clear that terms of compromise cannot be too soon initiated

Let the enforcement be tried-the obstacles to be ncountered will, beyond peradventure, be found fearfully momentous.

VIRGINIA AND SECESSION. To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: That "irrepressible conflict" between the representatives of the black and white laborer for the possession of the soil of this country, which, a little while ago it was deemed a sin to recognize, is rapidly being transferred, by the Disunionists of the South, from

slave-holding State. This contest, so harmless to the cause of Slavery while confined to the Western Reserve of Ohio, or theoretically waged in the pulpits of New-England, is now, by the direct act and very challenge of the selfappointed guardians of "Southern interests," opening, a most practical, if not, indeed, in a fearful shape, in

every town and county of the Border States, and even

many portions of the States of the Gulf. The questions in issue, involving the relative rights n society of the man who owns negroes and of him who holds none, springs spontaneously out of the Seession movement, and is clearly destined, at no distant day, to shake every secoding State, and every State in which there is an avowed Secession party, t

its center. This great contest is already begun both in the Legslature and Convention of Virginia; and as the agi tation commencing there is the forerunner of a simila convulsion in every other State where it is proposed to compel the non-slaveholders to relinquish their national flag, their national pride, their national hopes and national rights in this great and prosperous country, for

the imaginary, exclusive, and more than questionable benefit of the slaveholder, it will be well to watch the current of this conflict, and try to appreciate the ele-

nents about to be engaged in the issue. The State of Virginia in the pending struggle, offers a fair illustration of the Slavery contest in the whole country. The Eastern portion of the State, resting on the sea-board, is a slaveholding community; while the Western portion, beyond the Allegany Mountains, is a part of the great Valley of the Mississippi, with very ew, and in some extensive portions of it, no slaves.

Between these extreme sections, is the fertile Valley of Virginia, a tier of border counties, lying between the Allegany range and the Blue Mountains, containing a considerable number of slaves, it is true, but also a large and constantly-increasing industrious white popul lation, without slaves.

Here, then, in a single State, are all the elements of that exciting struggle now going on throughout the Union, and which is attracting the attention of the civilized world. Here, in Virginia, is seen the larger area and the larger population of the free counties, receiving their constitution, their laws, and such other privileges as they are willing to grant, from the smaller but more concentrated and united, and therefore more effective minority, in the slaveholding section. Here is the aristocratic East giving laws and distributing limited patronage to the democratic West. Here is the slaveholder representing and taxing the non-slaveholder's property, and exempting from taxation his own property in slaves; and now, finally, in virtue of the all-controlling power which he has usurped, by the aid of that concentrated influence, acting always in the State Legislature as in the national Congress, with an unbroken front, and aided, too often, by recruits ambitious of political preferment from the non-slaveholding section-demanding the last and dearest concession to his superiority-the surrender by the non-slaveholder of his claim to participate in his country's glory, and to rest secure under the shelter of its honored flag.

At this crisis of the struggle the patriotic tra-mor ane Virginian, accustomed to yield with but a slight show of resistance, is at last compelled to pause and protest; and while the Eastern member calculates the value of the Union, the Western member, driven to the wall, is forced, on his side, to compute the value

of Slavery.

The result will soon determine whether the ligatures which bind Virginia to that Union which it has been the chief glory of her wisest and best that they aided to form it, or those which tie the western counties of the State to the eastern, are destined to be soonest torn asunder; whether the love of their country, or continued submission to the demands of the eastern section of the State is the stronger sentiment in the breast of a Western Virginian.

Apart from the question of national loyalty, which in

Eastern Virginia has been slowly, yet effectually, undermined, in the name of State rights, a principle which, west of the mountains, has made less pernicious progress, numerous other considerations of great moment find place in the discussions. Nearly all the commercial relations of Western Virginia are with the North, or with the States north and west of the Ohio. The merchant of Western Virginia sends his orders for goods to New-York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, to be illed. The miners and manufacturers of the western portion of the State send the product of their labortheir nails and iron, glass, coal, and salt—to Cincin-nati and the States beyond the Ohio. All their purchases and sales and dealings are with the Free States of the North and West, or with Maryland. Even the cattle raised in the grazing counties of the mountainous districts find their market at Baltimore and the cities further north. Dissolve the connection of the merchant or miner or grazier of Western Virginia with those Northern States and cities, and place a Custom-House between him and his market, and his hopes of future material prosperity are gone. He has no slaves to carry into new Territories to sell or establish there. Whatever of sympathy he has with those who are contriving treason for his ruin, is the result of habits of old association, and is hostile to all his real hopes and in-

In the County of Nicholas-one of the largest coun ties in Western Virginia-there are more than fifty white men for every negro. In the County of Preston there are not less than 140 whites for every negro. In the County of Ritchie there are 240, and in Wetzel, 250 times as many whitee as there are slaves; while in Hancock there are but three slaves in a population expeeding 4 000 persons.

In Eastern Virginia, on the other hand, we have the County of Caroline, with only 7,000 whites and no less than 11,000 slaves; Halifax, with 11,000 whites and nearly 15,000 slaves; and Charlotte, containing over 4,000 whites and more than 9,000 slaves. The slaves, Eastern Virginia, are increasing from year to year and bringing the sentiments of that section, though slowly, still continually, more and more in harmony with opinion in the Cotton States; while Western Virginia, on the other hand, is constantly approximating more and more closely in many respects to the States of

Ohio and Western Pennsylvania.

The "irrepressible conflict," then, if anywhere, is to be studied with profit just now in Virginia .. The same argument which is used to justify and effect the separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States -that they are "different peoples," having different customs, tastes, habits, and pursuits—applies with equal force to the separation of the Eastern from the Western portion of the State itself, where all the same differences exist to an equal extent.

In the western part of Virginia the white man is supported by his own labor. In the eastern part he is supported essentially by the labor of the negro. In the western section, labor is respected; while among too many in the eastern section, the man who labors for his bread is despised. On these facts rests the whole of that assumed diversity of character which, coming in aid of the geographical and commercial influences which attach Western Virginia to the Free States, now threatens to rend the State in twain and attach the good Old Dominion to the train of South Carolina.

What is to be the immediate result, however, we do not venture to predict; though the probability seems to be gaining ground that the links of connection between Eastern and Western Virginia will be strained to the point of parting before the attachments of the Western ection to the thrift, progress and independence of the Free States of the Mississippi Valley, and to their national flag, will give way.

Already it is proposed by some of the Western Delegates in the Legislature and Convention, that slave property, now scarcely taxed at all, shall be required to bear some reasonable proportion of the expenses of the extensive military preparations which the Disunionists demand to enable them to force their obnoxious lans upon the State and the Federal Government.

Already the division of the State is intimated, a first, in muttered, and recently, in more audible threats, as the alternative of secession. It is impossible for those most conversant with Virginian sentiment to foresee the result. There are strong indications, it is true, that all the secession resolutions will be voted down by the Convention. But it is not so certain that the threatened conflict between the Eastern and Western part of the State will be ultimately avoided by any decision of that body. The contreversy is assuming the form of a sectional issue in the State-a sections issue between communities geographically separated by sharp mountain range; commercially separated by the absence of all available means of communication and socially separated by entire dissimilarity of habits

We do not venture to predict, therefore, which party in the approaching contest is destined to achieve triumph; and much less to assert that the defeated side will acquiesce in the verdict. If it should not, there will arise over the whole surface of the State the new and momentous question, whether to permit the "peace ful secession" of Eastern Virginia from the State and Union, or appeal to coercion as the alternative. But be the immediate result what it may, it is already plain growth, if not its birth, to the teaching of the Virginian gratulations to Mr. Smith, who then withdrew. that the doctrine of Secession, which owes its life and

school of politicians, has not only succeeded in placing the existence of the Union in peril, but has also banish ed political peace beyond the limits of the State, never to return again until either that pernicious heresy is uprected and destroyed, or the State itself has been divided and robbed of its ancient influence by the appli-

cation of its own theory.

Here in Virginia, then, Mr. Hunter will probably find a first opportunity to test the practical working of the dual executive of Mr. Calhoun, with his own double Judiciary and double Senate grafted upon it as an improvement. The circumstances and cor are the same, and his plan is therefore, according to his own doctrine, the appropriate remedy for the domestic

We shall endeavor to show, at an early day, that the secession of Virginia from this Union is the secession from prosperity, and the acceptance of ruin in its place; that the division of the State—coupled with disunion—will be fraught with the destruction of every material interest of the eastern section, while it will speedily convert Western Virginia into a great, prosperous and influential Free State-the recipient of the surplupopulation of the Northern States, a share of the European emigration, and of many of the dissatisfied nonslaveholders of Eastern Virginia and the Cotton Con-

THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME. - The Richmond Whig, which has steadily warred upon the Secession movement, thus unfolds the course which it believes Virginia will pursue. There is a good deal of matter

Virginia will pursue. There is a good deal of matter for reflection in this alleged programme:

"We have conversed freely with members of the Convention, and we are persuaded that the action of the body will be eminently wise and conservative, and, as our distant readers will naturally desire to know what that action will be, we venture, for their satisfaction, to state our impressions on the subject.

"We believe that, after full debate and thorough examination, the Convention will indicate by resolutions the constitutional amendments and guaranties which, in the judgment of Virginia, are necessary for the se-

the constitutional amendments and guarantee white, in the judgment of Virginia, are necessary for the security of her rights and institutions. When these are agreed on, she will invite a conference of the non-seceded States, at Frankfort or Nashville, to consider our propositions, and to make common cause with her. She will not offer her propositions as an ultimatum, but merely as her contribution to the general stock of the contribution to th but merely as her contribution to the general stock of suggestions on the subject. Some of her wisest and most patriotic citizens will be sent by the Convention to this conference, and her propositions will there be considered, and, it may be, modified in some respects, though not in any essential particulars. When harmony and concurrence shall have been secured among the Border States, the propositions, as agreed on by them, will be submitted as an ultimatum to the Northern States.

"This ultimatum, we feel assured, will embrace no unreasonable features—nothing which is not in strict

"This ultimatum, we feel assured, will embrace no unreasonable features—nothing which is not in strict conformity with the principles of the Constitution, as understood and acted on by the Fathers of the Republic. If it should be accepted by the North, the Union will be preserved and harmony restored. If, on the other hand, it be rejected, then the Border States will, in a body, withdraw from the Union, and unite with such States, both slaveholding and non-slaveholding, as may be willing to adopt them. In the event of resuch States, both slaveholding and non-slaveholding, as may be willing to adopt them. In the event of rejection, we believe that New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Otio, Indiana, and Illinois, will unite with the Border States. The result may be to throw off the New-England States, and the extreme North-Western States. The Gulf States will soon find it to their interest to reunite themselves to this conservative Confederbey, and ultimately the exacinded Northern States, having learned a lesson of wisdom and humility, will knock at our doors for readmission into the family mansion."

POPULAR SENTIMENT IN VIRGINIA.—A recent brief trip into the interior of Virginia has thoroughly satisfied us that there exists no foundation whatever for the impression sought to be made by the Richmond disurion newspapers, that a considerable change in favor of their very bad cause has occurred in that State since the late election of members to their current State Convention. According to their statements the Old Dominion is all ablaze for immediate secession. Our observation was, principally, in the very county in which the change in favor of disunion is represented to have been greatest, wherein we could not hear of a single citizen who, being for the Union at the date of the Convention election, is now for placing Virginia under the usurpation of the oligarchy—not one. On the contrary, we found the people very generally utterly amazed, incensed and disgusted, at the strocity of that usurpation, as developed by the means taken to confirm it in power—the entire abrogation of popular rights in the seceded States, and the wholesale misrepresentation of purposes and policy of the Government of the United States toward the South, made plain in its conduct since the 4th of March. We POPULAR SENTIMENT IN VIRGINIA .- A recent brief ernment of the United States toward the South, made plain in its conduct since the 4th of March. We found no man there with whom we conversed upon the subject who now fails to realize that the question which Virginia is to decide is whether she will give up the assurance of the continuance of all the rights, privileges, liberties and blessings which her people have enjoyed through the Government of the United States up to this time, for the questionable condition of citizenship under the despotism of Rhett, Spratt, Cobb, Toombs & Co. Not a man of them entertained the idea of industriously sought of late to be injected the idea so industriously sought of late to be injected into the Virginia popular mind, that the policy of the present Administration is an aggressive one upon the South. The result is, that the cause of the Union is far stronger at this moment there than previous to the 4th of March, when the cause of the present t ment toward the South was uncertain, and was being most effectively misrepresented.

(Washington Star The Virginia Congressional election The Virginia Congressional election, which comes off on the fourth Monday of next month (May), will result in a Union victory, which will end the disunion battle in all the border slaveholding States past peradventure, unless in the meanwhile the Administration here may perpetrate some gross and grievous blunder in its course toward them (the Border States) and the States course toward them (the Borner States) and the State now suffering under the despotism of the Oligarchy As we see no reason whatever to believe that any such  $f_{aux}$  pas will be perpetrated, we feel confident that the Virginia election in its result will not only satisfy the property of the propert the Virginia election in its result will not only satisf-all the world that the Border States will resolutely ad-here to their present allegiance, but will also instantly strip the Oligarchy of their hopes of seducing those States to submit themselves to their despotism, and at the same time prove the signal for the organization of powerful parties in the seconded States in favor of their return under the Government of the United States. return under the Government of the United States. As matters now stand in Virginia, the Disunionists are certain of electing but a single member of the next Congress. Out of the whole twelve, the Unionists are Congress. Out of the whole twelve, the Unionists are certain of seven, and their chances of success in the other four are two to one. We know what we write

in making this declaration.

This calculation cannot possibly prove fallacious, unless the Government here may speil its denouement by accommodating its coercion supporters with the abandonment of its peace policy—which we are very sure

donment of its peace policy—which we are very sure will not be done.

Under existing circumstances, therefore, the country may expect to see Virginia represented in the next Congress by an almost unbroken delegation, who in swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, will observe the eath in good faith, standing by and maintaining through good and evil report the integrity and supremacy of the Government.

WARLIKE MOVEMENTS SOUTH.—A letter from Memphis, March 27, 1861, says:

WARLIKE MOVEMENTS SOUTH.—A letter from Memphis, March 27, 1861, says:

"There will be seven hundred men from Mississippi on the noon train to-day, armed and equipped for war. They are destined for Pensacola. Some one hundred or more of our young men will join the regiment. The whole battafion is well drilled, and is a fine body of men, with a determined will to shed the last drop of blood in their cause. Secession flags wave from every staff, dwelling, and business-house, and and great excitement prevails among all classes. The Union men are becoming disheartened, and are besing faith. Congress failing to make known to the country its future policy, leads the masses to think there is some underground movement to coerce their sister States."

States."

TREASON DEFINED IN FLORIDA.—An act just passed by the Florida Legislature declares, that in the event of any actual collision between the troops of the late Federal Union and those in the employ of the State of Florida, it shall be the duty of the Governor of the State, and the control of the State, and the control of the State, and the control of the fact, and State to make public proclamation of the fact, and thereafter the act of holding office under the Federal Government shall be declared treason, and the person convicted shall suffer death. This act was approved by the Governor of the State on the 14th ult. We suppose Postmasters will be excepted from the operation of this law.

SWEARING IN OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT-ATTORNEY.-At noon on Friday Mr. E. Delafield Smith, the newly-appointed U. S. District-Attorney for this District, was sworn in by District Judge Betts The oath was taken in open court, and was as follows: "You do solemnly swear that you will perform the duties a Attorney for the United States for the Southern District of New-York, and that you will support the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Smith, after taking the oath, said to Judge Betts I assume the office with unfeigned diffidence as to my ability, but with a determination to do my duty dis creetly, earnestly, and faithfully."

The Judge and members of the Bar offered their co

THE STATE OF EUROPE

TURIN, March 16, 1861. Great agitation exists all over Europe. In

France we see the clerical Legitimists, who had

until now supported the Emperor, turning against him because of his Italian policy, while the moderate Republicans draw nearer around Napoleon, especially since Prince Napoleon's most eloquent speech in the Senate which fully satisfied the friends of liberty and gave new hopes to the oppressed nationalities. The more determined Republicans however, the party of conspiracy and revolution at any cost, thought the moment pro-pitious for an armed attempt at overthrowing the man of the 2d December, and the secret societies assembled their members at Lyons and Paris. The assembled their members at Lyons and Paris. The plot was, however, soon discovered, and August Blanqui, that arch conspirator, was arrested the very moment he arrived at Paris. With him, Senique, an artisan and well known Revolutionist, was discovered and secured. It is expected that the Emperor, nothing daunted by these most injudicious efforts of the revolutionary party, will try to make his peace with the moderate men among the Democracy, and sever his alliance with the clericals, which becomes untenable by the approaching solution of the Roman question. Count Cavour is, indeed, in high gles, and will next week, in answer to an interpellation untenable by the approaching solution of the Roman question. Count Cavour is, indeed, in high gles, and will next week, in answer to an interpellation by the Deputy Audinot, unfold some of the mysteries of the Roman negotiation. It seems that the Pope has already made up his mind to yield to the unavoidable necessity of losing his temporal power, but he insists now upon the extension of his spiritual power. What he wants is the severance of the Church from the State. He claims by the abolition of all the concordats in Italy the right to nominate all the Archbishops. Bishops and parish priests of all the concordats in Italy the right to nominate all the Archbishops, Bishops and parish priests throughout the peninsula; then he cleims an income corresponding to his dignity, derived from and secured by landed property to be ceded to him; he claims further the complete control over all the monastic establishments, and all their property now confiscated by the State. Upon such terms he would not be muchling to also an Power terms he would not be unwilling to give up Rome, if Napoleon and the Catholic powers should abandon him. But the Italians do not like this compression. mise-more favorable to the unity than to the religious liberty of the Peninsula.

The successful establishment of Italian unity inaugurated on the 11th inst., by the proclamation of King Victor Emanuel, as King of Italy, had a constitution of the state of the st

siderable influence upon Germany. The so-called National Society gets day by day firmer roots and greater extent. They claim now openly a Central Government and National Parliament with the Con-stitution of 1848, but the Prussian Cabinet, which might at once carry this scheme, hangs fire. King William is not yet certain whether the German Parliament might transfer the central power to him or not, and therefore bides his time power to him or not, and therefore blace his time until the Prussian sympathies might develop them-selves more fully. But such a policy defeats itself. It is too clever to be successful, and the Luke of Coburg, the patron and protector of the National Society, has a much greater chance of becoming the first Emperor of United Germeny than King William of Prussia. The Austrian Minister Schmerling, too, wishes to get the central power for the House of Austria, but he has his hands full with the Huagarian difficulties. Unable to give up his Unitarias centralizing tendencies, he tries to coax or to bully Hungary into a complete fusion with the non-Hungarian Provinces, but until now his efforts were of no avail. The elections in Hungary proceed in a quiet manner. In a few days they will be completed, but the Austrian Government has no chance to get one single member elected to the Diet who would represent the views of the Ministers. All the members places there. of the Ministers. All the members pledge them-selves to uphold the laws of 1848, and, what is still more important, the English Government applied to by Austria for an eventual alliance, is said to insist upon a complete reconciliation of the Dynasty with Hungary as the sine qua non of any future arrange-ment. Thus, it seems that, after all, the Diet may become more successful than was hoped for, and all the more since the Croations, for one moment estranged, again express their desire to come to an understanding with the Hungarians upon a feleration. The blunder of the Vienna Cabinet to exclude the military frontier from constitutional life has made a deep impression upon the Croatians and destroyed all their faith in Austrian sincerity, and they return therefore to the idea of annexation, by

which they might gain strength.

As to Russia, the emancipation of the serfs is adjourned for a few weeks more. In the meantime Poland gets some concessions. The title of King of Poland is revived, the autonomy of the kingdom is promised, and Poland will soon be governed by Poles. Count Andrew Zamoyski is the leader of the national movement, and a wiser and better man could certainly not have been selected for so difficult a task. The turbulent portion of the Polish little satisfied with the prudent and slow policy pur-sued by Zamoyski; but the Foles of Austria and Prussia are certainly better judges of their commen country's woe and weal than the exiles, and their sympathy fully supports the aristocratic party which now directs the affairs of Russian Poland. If Czar Alexander is wise enough to seek the contentment of Poland he will soon have an opportunity for annexing Galicia and Posen, since both these previnces are anxious to be reunited to their brothers as soon as their national existence is not threatened by con-tralizing beaurocratism at St. Petersburg.

Great events are preparing in Turkey. Servis arms, Bosnia is ripe for an insurrection, and Montenegro has again recommenced her and Montenegro has again recommenced again accustomed forays against Turkey in order to get an outlet to the sea. These efforts may be baffled for a time, but in the course of the year we may be certain of seeing all the Illyrian triangle in arms against the Porte.

In England we have Kossuth's trial about the Hungarian Bank notes, the Emperor of Austria.

appearing as suitor against the ex-Governor of Hungary, with a cross suit of Kossuth against the Emperor of Austria. There is, besides, a strong agitation in the religious world about the Oxford Essays and Reviews, which will not fail to have a strong echo in America. Oxford, once the hot-bed of Puscyism, is now accused of being infidel. Such are the changes and signs of the times.

FROM PHILADELPHIA.

DEAD ORGAN-SOCIETY OF FRIENDS-THE TARIFF-THE PEACH CROP-COTTON MOVE MENT-STEAMER TO SAVANNAH STOPPED.

From Our Own Correspondent. PHILADELPHIA, April 4, 1861.

Our atmosphere has been cleared of one pestiferous organ of rebellion, The Pennsyleanian. This standard Democratic daily has existed here for thirty years, living all the while on the publie treasury. It never enjoyed any circulation, and but few considered it worth advertising in. It was a mere Custom-House handbill, the supple, pliant, unscrupulous tool of every Democratic Administration, by whom the most shameless appropriations of patronage were made to keep its fountain of misrepresentation running. These appropriations withdrawn under the new regime, is for Secession. Its leading articles were the volun-tary contributions of the clique of office-holder about town. The whole concern, press and contribabout town. The whole cencern, press and contributors, go out bodily, sharers in a common adversity. But no Democratic paper ever did make money here, and certainly never can. The party now has but a single representative, The Evening Argus, which will need to have all its eyes open now that every fountain of official patronage is to be dried up. We can spare both these organs, and be better of

That portion of the Society of Friends who side in North Carolina are now debating on side in North Carolina are now debating on the propriety of wholly withdrawing from the presence of Slavery, and removing West. Thousands have already gone. I learn that the impossibility of selling their property alone prevents immediate removal with many. They are unwilling to remain and real their children surrounded by the demoralizing institution of the institution. Its despotism companions of the institution.